

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5439

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 07967

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, GR, PFOR

SUBJECT: ADJUSTING TO POST-MAKARIOS UNCERTAINTY: GREECE,
TURKEY AND NATO

REFS: (A) ANKARA 5966 (DTG 120838Z AUG 77); (B) USNATO 0470
(DTG 271800Z JAN 77); (C) ANKARA 5620 (DTG 271327Z JUL 77);
(D) USNATO 7875 (DTG 180758 AUG 77) (ALL NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: WE FIND ANALYSIS CONTAINED REF A PERSUASIVE
REGARDING THE NEED FOR MOVEMENT ON TURKISH DCA TO PREVENT
FURTHER DETERIORATION IN US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP, AND DE-
SCRIBE BELOW HOW MANY OF THE SAME FACTORS COME INTO PLAY
IN NATO. WE CONCLUDE BY SUPPORTING EMBASSY ANKARA'S CALL
FOR A CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVE POLICIES. IN ADDITION
WE STRESS IMPORTANCE OF MOVEMENT ON GREEK AS WELL AS TUR-
KISH DCA AND NOTE THAT INITIALLING OF FORMER PROVIDES AN
ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT WITH THE CONGRESS FOR THE LINE OF AC-
TION RECOMMENDED BY EMBASSY ANKARA. END SUMMARY.

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2. RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND NATO HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT
OVER LAST 6-8 MONTHS AS TURKS HAVE BECOME MORE TESTY AND
INTRANSIGENT ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES:

--GREECE-NATO RELATIONS: TURKS, ANGERED BY GREEK PAPER OF
JANUARY 27 (REF B), HAVE COMPLICATED EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH

PROCEDURES IN OPEN-ENDED GROUP TO CONSIDER NEXT STEPS IN GREECE-NATO RELATIONSHIP;

--INFRASTRUCTURE: TURKS, NEVER HAPPY WITH INTERIM AGREEMENT ON GREEK INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, HAVE NOW SUCCEEDED IN INSERTING LANGUAGE FOR LATEST SLICE WHICH DOES NOT CHANGE ESSENCE OF AGREEMENT, BUT FURTHER IRRITATES THE GREEKS; FURTHERMORE, THE TURKS ARE BLOCKING NATO-WIDE PROJECTS (NADGE, EARLY WARNING NICS) IN GREECE UNTIL THE GREEKS AGREE TO UNLIMITED NATO ACCESS TO THE FACILITIES.

--MILITARY BUDGET: THE TURKS PLACED A RESERVATION AGAINST NATO AIR DEFENSE ELECTRONIC ENVIRONMENT SYSTEMS (NADEES) BUDGET IN DECEMBER 1976, ON BASIS OF GREEK REFUSAL TO PASS TO TURKEY AIR DEFENSE INFORMATION ACQUIRED THROUGH AIR DEFENSE FACILITIES WHICH ARE SUPPORTED BY COMMON FUNDS. THE GREEKS COUNTERED WITH A SIMILAR RESERVATION AGAINST FUNDING TURKISH FACILITIES. THIS FUNDING IMPASSE CONTINUES WITHOUT PROSPECT OF RESOLUTION.

--FLEXIBILITY STUDIES: IT WAS ONLY WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY THAT TURKS WERE PERSUADED TO PERMIT EWG CONSIDERATION OF CENTRAL AND NORTHERN REGION FLEXIBILITY STUDIES TO PROCEED PRIOR TO REGULARIZATION OF GREECE-NATO STATUS. SOUTHERN REGION STUDY WAS IN EFFECT MOOTED FOR EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BECAUSE OF TURKISH ATTITUDE;
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--LONG RANGE DEFENSE INITIATIVES: TURKS HAVE ALREADY INDICATED THAT THEY WILL OPPOSE EFFORTS TO INVOLVE GREECE IN THE PREPARATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INITIATIVES. THIS SITUATION COULD ALSO COMPLICATE OUR ATTEMPTS TO INVOLVE THE FRENCH IN THIS PROGRAM (SEE REF D).

3. PROBLEMS FOR BILATERAL US-TURKISH RELATIONS WHICH EMBASSY ANKARA FORESEES IF SITUATION REMAINS UNCHANGED ARE EQUALLY APPLICABLE IN NATO CONTEXT. CONTROVERSIES OF THE TYPE CITED ABOVE ARE LIKELY TO MULTIPLY AND HAVE A HARMFUL IMPACT ON NATO COHESION AND ON THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS TO STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE LAUNCHED AT THE LONDON SUMMIT.

4. TURKISH COLLEAGUES HERE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT A MAJOR FACTOR BEHIND THE TURKISH POSTURE NOTED ABOVE IS THE FAILURE TO REGULARIZE THE US-TURKISH DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP THROUGH PASSAGE OF THE DCA. THE TURKS LOSE NO OCCASION IN NATO TO POINT OUT THAT THEY CANNOT CARRY OUT THEIR ALLIANCE OBLIGATIONS WITHOUT THE NECESSARY "EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE." HOWEVER, SINCE THE BILATERAL AND NATO RELATIONSHIP ARE NOT SEPARABLE IN TURKISH (OR GREEK) MINDS, NATO

COMES IN FOR ITS SHARE OF THE BLAME.

5. THE TURKS ARE ALSO ANGERED BY WHAT THEY SEE AS THE ALLIANCE'S FAILURE TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE GREEK "FREE RIDE" IN NATO. THEY RESENT CONTINUED GREEK MEMBERSHIP ON SUCH BODIES AS THE NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP, THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, AND THE MILITARY BUDGET COMMITTEE, WHERE THE GREEKS CAN OVERSEE AND COMPLICATE ACTIVITIES THAT ARE OF INTEREST TO THE TURKS. THE TURKS HAVE CONSIDERABLE SCOPE FOR SLOWING OR OBSTRUCTING WORK IN THESE BODIES.

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

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6. SYG LUNS AND CONCERNED ALLIES ARE FRUSTRATED BY THEIR INABILITY TO DO MORE THAN ISSUE OCCASIONAL APPEALS FOR MODERATION TO GREECE AND TURKEY. HOWEVER, THEY SEEM TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS AMONG AND BETWEEN THE US, GREECE, AND TURKEY MUST BE WORKED OUT BEFORE ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN NATO. THEY GENERALLY DEFER TO THE US ON THESE ISSUES. HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE THAT PASSAGE OF THE TURKISH DCA WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVE TURKISH-NATO RELATIONS, AND FAVOR ANY MOVEMENT IN THAT DIRECTION.

7. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IT APPEARS TO US THAT WITH REGARD TO THE DCA'S:

(A) AS NOTED REF C THE WORST OUTCOME FOR NATO WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT ON OR PASSAGE OF THE GREEK DCA WHILE THE

TURKISH DCA REMAINED DORMANT.

(B) PASSAGE OF THE TURKISH DCA FIRST WOULD BE A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME FOR NATO BUT IS AN UNLIKELY SCENARIO. WHEN
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CONGRESSMAN ADDABBO WAS HERE WITH MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE ON AUGUST 12, HE TOLD US THAT FAVORABLE ACTION ON THE TURKISH DCA WOULD DEPEND ON HOOKING IT TO THE GREEK ONE--AND EVEN THEN IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO GET CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL.

(C) PASSAGE OF BOTH DCA'S (OR EVEN EFFORTS TO PROMOTE PROGRESS TOWARD THAT END) WOULD BE WELCOMED IN NATO. A SOURCE OF MUCH OF THE CURRENT TURKISH HOSTILITY AND OBSTRUCTIONISM IN NATO WOULD BE REMOVED OR SEEN AS IN PROCESS OF BEING REMOVED. AN INDIRECT PART OF THE PROCESS OF REINTEGRATING GREEK FORCES INTO NATO WOULD BE COMPLETED OR DEMONSTRABLY UNDERWAY.

8. OBVIOUSLY MANY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WOULD REMAIN IN THE GREECE-NATO AND TURKEY-NATO RELATIONSHIPS. CYPRUS, THE AEGEAN, AND THE WEIGHT OF HISTORY WOULD ALL REMAIN POTENTIAL SOURCES OF INTRA-ALLIANCE DIFFICULTIES. HOWEVER, IF PASSAGE OF OR PROGRESS ON THE DCA'S WERE FOLLOWED BY MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS, THEN WE WOULD EXPECT THE GREEKS (AND THE TURKS) TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN THE GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. THE DCA'S SEEM AN ESSENTIAL EARLY ELEMENT IN DEVELOPING IF NOT A SOLUTION, THAN AT LEAST A MODUS VIVENDI TO THIS COMPLEX PROBLEM.

9. WE ARE NOT AU COURANT ON ADMINISTRATION STRATEGY FOLLOWING INITIALLING OF GREEK DCA, BEYOND GUIDANCE ISSUED IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING INITIALLING. SEEN FROM HERE, HOWEVER, THE FACT THAT THE GREEKS HAVE INITIALLED SHOULD SERVE AS A LOGICAL BASIS FOR ENCOURAGING THEM TO SIGN AND PROVIDES AN ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT WITH THE CONGRESS FOR THE LINE OF ACTION RECOMMENDED BY EMBASSY ANKARA.

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10. WE APPRECIATE EMBASSY ANKARA'S REPEATING ITS 5966 TO US, AND REQUEST OTHER ADDRESSEES TO INCLUDE USNATO ON DISTRIBUTION FOR MESSAGES ON THIS TOPIC.

GLITMAN

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION DELETED HANDLE AS EXIDIS PER NATO 07974

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